1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

pushing aside a door of plaited palm. Every married woman in the family cooks at her own fireplace, which consists of two lumps of hardened clay. Mats used for sleeping and sitting are spread over the entire floor. Wooden stools (fig. 19) may also be found. Bows, arrows, and rattles

FIGURE 19.—*Carajá* wooden stool. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 13.)

are shoved into the wall thatch. Baskets, used for storing such things as tobacco, urucú, and feathers, are hung by a string from the ridge poles. Large baskets containing vegetables lie on the ground next to the thatch.

The dry-season house is identical in form but smaller and of flimsier construction. Thatching is looser and the walls are thatched only about halfway to the ground, the north and west sides often being left completely open. The dry-season village is generally constructed on a long beach and, as the site grows dirty, is moved along the beach. The ground plan of the dry-season village is identical with the rainy-season village.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The most prominent facial decoration is a blue-black circular scarification about an inch in diameter over each cheekbone. The ears of infants are pierced and an ornament consisting of a small polished capybara tooth with a feather attached is inserted. A common ear ornament for children is a mother-of-pearl disk with a cut feather fringe set on a blackened thin rod. In a perforation of their lower lips, men wear wood or bone labrets of a variety of shapes (pl. 21; fig. 21, *a*), each assigned to a different age grade; old men use simple wooden plugs.

Men wear their hair long, winding it round a plaited cotton rope reddened with urucú. Women wear their hair about shoulder length.

Armlets crocheted of cotton are worn at the wrists and just above the elbow; similar ornaments are worn just below the knee and at the ankle. These are worn particularly by children and are supposed to aid growth.

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and Childhood.—The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

Puberty and Initiations.—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9, when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man. The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child. The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal
[567] groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards Ci, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
627 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/280 cont./

462 A. The division of labor by age and sex is such that the
561 male youths actually do nothing other than to practice the weapons craft and occasionally travel out to fish. In addition, they make their own weapons, as well as their feather ornaments and the cotton dance-belts. The married men, on the other hand, are usually busy; either they work in the plantings, or they go out twice a day to fish for their families, go hunting, plait baskets
[589] and hats, build houses, and bring in the harvest. In general, the men, when they are married, have a great deal of work and that is why young people no longer want to get married, having been infected by a few older bachelors who preach the ideal of bachelorhood: idling, smoking, chatting in the mask house.

The women learn their manual skills, such as spinning and weaving, from childhood on. Married women take care of the plantings, the harvest, tend the children, cook, make pottery, spin and weave, and plait mats. In general, to be sure, they have to work the whole day, so that one never sees them unoccupied, but in general their lot is a good one; hard work is never demanded of them, but is always taken over by the men.

412 B. Of their ancient tools some have already disappeared (1)
178

1. Iron tools seem to have penetrated in the previous generation. A 40-year old Indian of the south horde told me that he had not seen work done with stone axes any more, only his mother told him about it.

or are used in another way, they still, however, use stone axes /281/ as striking stones, small stone knives for tattooing, bone needles for sewing, mussel shells as scrapers and spoons, sets of piranha teeth for cutting the strips for plaiting baskets. More and
[177] more, however, iron implements are coming in: axes, bush knives, small knives, and shears are used everywhere, likewise iron crochet needles. In spite of these foreign implements, how-
[176] ever, the technique has happily kept its ancient character, and only occasionally are innovations, under the influence of the Brazilian inhabitants, To be noted.

/327 cont./

844 washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too) 845 [847] are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins; 163 such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family, 862 however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

553 [603] [551] [997] Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only 551 one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãũzĩ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kũlĩ = tapir; ãnãnlõã = cat; ãnlũãzĩ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

852 Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kũãdjũ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

291 The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt. 561 It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys 301 live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.

/328 cont./

881 With the onset of puberty both sexes have the tribal rings
[304] cut on their cheeks; apparently no further ceremonies take place
•561 in connection with this. From then on the maidens wear the
301 complete costume of the women, and the cotton pendant orna-
ment is given the red color instead of the black, which was proper
561 for children. The youths live by themselves; where there is a
591 mask house, they spend the day in it and sleep there at night or
beside a fire in its vicinity. Where there is none, they sleep
beside a fire away from the village. In small settlements with
one or two houses, they, too, live in the house.

855 Parents love their children very much. It is touching to
observe with what tenderness they cling to them, and how, far
from them, they are constantly with them in their thoughts.
When Pedro received the (false) message that his children had
died, he scarcely spoke for hours and even after that he was
noticeably more silent than he had been otherwise. The mothers
play with their small children; I even observed the kissing of
855 children. All conceivable ornamentation is put on the little
301 ones; the older the children become, the less ornamentation is
put on, until, finally, married persons give it up almost entirely.
One woman about 50 years old laughed at her own vanity when she
put chains of beads which I had given to her grandchild around
her own neck and looked down on them with pleasure. This
mania /329/ for adorning children goes so far that they hang
around their necks large pieces of broken colorful porcelain
[842] plates, without being aware of the danger (1). "Boys mean more

1. This custom is already reported for the Šambioá by Rufino in the year 1846 (Rev. trim. X, p. 196).

861 to the father, the mother would rather have girls" (Kuniš). The
father teaches the son, the mother the daughter. Contrary to
other reports, I was assured that beating as a punishment also
occurs. Otherwise I observed only the denial of food as a means
of punishment (in Village 17, because the boy in question did not
go fishing, but loitered around me in the Camp).

/331 cont./

dance masks, but masks of beggars who travel around on certain occasions and beg for food; others seem to be connected with the /332/ cult of the dead. In any case, these are still quite primitive forms; a strict organization of the young people seems to be entirely lacking; only the age group of the unmarried men and the men's house (mask house) have developed (1). As a

1. Dr. Walter Lehmann-München, in a discussion of my essay on masks in the Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, XVI, 1911, p. 100, suspects that the dance masks, like those in Central America, could in part be connected with the cult of the dead, and that they could be associated with totemistic ideas in combination with puberty rites. The connection with the cult of the dead seems actually to exist for the ĭõõnĭ mask, but, unfortunately, I was able to obtain too little information about this (see Part I, p. 78 /untranslated/) to be able to say anything about it with certainty. As for the second point, I suspected totemism among the Karajá Indians from the very beginning, but, in spite of all efforts, I could not discover anything of this nature. And it is the same with puberty rites. I therefore believe that I am right if I abstain from such combinations. It must one day be the task of a researcher who visits the Karajá during the rainy (dance) season to devote his attention to this problem.

As a result, ,riests are, as yet, entirely lacking; everyone may still take part equally in all the dances. The arrangement is the duty of the chief. Everything concerning the masks is kept secret from the women. For more detail on the mask arrangements, see my article, "Tanzmaskennachbildungen vom mittleren Araguaya (Zentralbrasilien) /Copies of Dance Masks from the Middle